But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadeteri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekca or warriors' quarters.

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

[241] They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. 241 824 137 I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

241 824

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	anauerá aniucate
sweet potato	nixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	açáo-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796 Each Munduruca village also carries out every year at the 22⁴ start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, tarubá, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

225 It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ bere bereme u tiedié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽe taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utié-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ bererereme bate que mẽaipanhate uére mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the fold of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sanzarão and *Guruja* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Troças (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
● 224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made [272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. [273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents.

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Munduruci* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes.

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars.

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly inervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finaly buried in the house of the deceased.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Munduruci* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes succes in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic diahgue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc.

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes.

1 [Martius (source #3) says this was done by the children -- Anal[yst]]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal -- Anal[yst]]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

105 tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mundurucú life.

Hunting

● 224 Of these four activities hunting and horticulture contributed more to the food supply than the other two. To the Mundurucú man, the proper daily activity was the hunt. The men were tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prized game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. The principal animals hunted were tapir (Tapirus Americanus), both the wild pig (Tayassu albirostris) and peccary (Tayassu tajassu), several species of deer, the paca (Cuniculus paca Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. The men enjoyed hunting, but this must not obscure the fact that it is extremely exhausting work. The hunters left the village in the morning shortly after dawn and traveled long miles through the forests and across sun baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then followed an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasted for hours. The successful hunter often ended his day by carrying a 100 pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he had to spend the night in the forest if he made his kill too late to return by daylight. The men hunted nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when a great quantity of game was brought back to the village. All activity then stopped and the people sat around eating the

224 meat which would otherwise spoil after about three days.
[264] The pressure of maintaining a meat supply was great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or four wild pigs in twenty four hours.

Of all the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts were most important. The usual system was for three or four men to go ahead with their dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men waited along the path which the animal would probably follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crossed a stream, in order to ambush the fleeing beast. Needless to say this called for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters informed their waiting companions of the specie of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If the ambush was not possible, the dogs ran down the animals and brought them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalked game, the above techniques were most important for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food. Whereas it was possible for only three or four men to hunt the other animals, the entire male population of one or two villages might participate in a wild pig hunt. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to fifty to one hundred pigs. Under these circumstances a single hunter could only kill one, or at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men could surround the animals and kill a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, peccary, and

224 deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

226 Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The 361/723 aboriginal Mundurucú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best [226] fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Mundurucú relied little on the water sys- 501 tem for food or transportation is shown by the fact that only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Mundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] Not even this canoe was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowl-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack.

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family.

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams.

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient.

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households.

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce:

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

439 Munduruc traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Munduruc of the upper Tapajos "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Munduruc product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Munduruc acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 28-31].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Munduruc, like the Algonkians and in fact most aboriginees, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Munduruc. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, [291] however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Munduruc villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Munduruc, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Munduruc dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal [415 323] pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Munduruc barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

the woman and blows upon the women, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies. 797 773 942

In all his activities, Karusakaibé is accompanied by his constant companion, Dailru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky. 775

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibé myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karutacaibé and Wakurumpí ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichikó is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichikó is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karuibewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibé is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perimut, and the wars of Turichumpó and Karudailbi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is so powerful as Karusakaibé and Wakurumpí. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Game Animals

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.* The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually 776 224

*Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 55-56) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1948, p. 132) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are closely related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 232) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Itá." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tenetehara refer to them as fathers (Kietz-Gruenberg, 1953, pp. 276-277).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Munduruku ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Munduruku culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Munduruku men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[1] and the Munduruku are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about a more southerly origin of the Munduruku,[2] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Munduruku religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

The mother of the game, or *puisha ãĩ*,[3] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *puisha ãĩ* and animals is conceived by the Munduruku to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *puisha ãĩ* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *puisha ãĩ* is found in two forms, in one it is a very special stone called a *wirabed*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Munduruku *wirabed* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirabed* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirabed* guise, the *puisha ãĩ* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Munduruku country. Hunting is invariably good in those locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Munduruku shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *puisha ãĩ* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *puisha ãĩ* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *puisha ãĩ* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[1] See the myth of Periassé on pp. 207–211 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[2] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 386 and Steinen, 1892, p. 1.
[3] Munduruku words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription and a complete glossary of all Munduruku terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic identifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home.

The manifestation of the mother of the game in crab monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Munduruc to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *patóka ñ*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *patóka ñ*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *patóka ñ* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which cevira thereon has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *patóka ñ*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Munduruc ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *patóka ñ* is a source of danger when offended, and the Munduruc hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *patóka ñ*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *patóka ñ* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *patóka ñ* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Munduruc sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Munduruc to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *patóka ñ* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *patóka ñ* would become extremely angry.

The *patóka ñ* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *patóka ñ*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *patóka ñ* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *patóka ñ* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *putóka ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakip* and the *wirabai*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *putóka ñ* is sometimes found. The *yakip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *wirabai* and the *yakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *ãbawai*, that exists in all animals. The Munduruú believe that every animal possesses a *wirabai* and a *yakip* as part of its power (*ãbawai*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *putóka ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakip* or the *wirabai* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putóka ñ*. One shaman stated that the *yakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirabai* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *putóka ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Munduruú thought are the *boi ñ*, the *daje ñ*, the *ropsem ñ*, and the *tawi ñ*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the prego monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *putóka ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Munduruú commonly speak of "feeding the *putóka ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *putóka ñ*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirabai*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *aoiwa ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *putóka ñ* in the animal world. The *aoiwa ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *aoiwa ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartarugas and tracajá, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or manatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informant responses on the subject. Munduruú beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirabai*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arsiarsi* and *Dajcaruparip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arsiarsi* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arsiarsi* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed. The shorter *Dajeraparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Dupasip Ceremony

One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant [illegible] some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamis by the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "perked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamis" could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the [534] rite, the *Dajebolit* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajebolit* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Munduruci beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Munduruci prowess by the *Daruhi*; and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Munduruci culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Munduruci villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 The ceremonies, the *Arauroa* and the *Dajorwpayp*, were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Munduruci villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajorwpayp* is also valid for the *Arauroa*, except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its priest, or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Munduruci ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

buriti palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buriti leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buriti-leaf crown, in the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buriti leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buriti leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buriti-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arasiwai* ceremony was identical, except that the buriti leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kói*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parauri*, but those for the *Dajasaepirip* and *Arasiwai* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced in the doorway of the house, then circled the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kói* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796
224

function was to guide the spirit mothers to the men's house, in the same manner that the coatá monkey, it is believed, leads game through the forest. Before the skulls were placed in order, they were washed with a fragrant solution made from the cuvira cheruna and then with *mávi*, a sweet manioc gruel. *Mávi* is thought to be especially pleasing to the spirit mothers, and a bowl was kept near the skulls so that the spirits could eat after answering the summons.

When all arrangements were in order, two men who knew the various songs dedicated to each type of animal sat in front of the array of skulls and sang for the spirit mothers. A number of shamans stood by, ready to shoot with magic arrows those *Turupari* that inevitably came to steal the *mávi*. A shaman also had to be present at all times to detect the arrival of the spirits. When the spirits arrived, the shamans blew smoke over all the heads and then inserted a bamboo tube into each head to suck the arrow points and buckshot from the spirits. These objects are believed to be lodged in the animal spirits because of the hunting activities of the Mundurucú, and it was necessary to extract them in order to completely placate the spirits. The spirits then ate the *mávi* and departed.

Although the main purpose of the ceremony was the gratification of the animal spirits, the participants remained for three or four more days to take part in dances and ritual activities in imitation and honor of the game animals. On the day following the feeding of the spirits, all the men repaired to the banks of a stream and there sought out white clay. Two men were selected and "captured" by the others and white clay was smeared upon their foreheads, converting them for ceremonial purposes into coatá monkeys. The others adorned themselves as peccaries by applying white clay to their cheeks and jaws. They then paraded single file into the village, the two monkeys in front and the peccaries following in close order ranks, all making the noises characteristic of their species. Once in the village, the men invaded the houses; those who were simulating the peccaries grunted and poked at the ground with sticks to make peccary tracks, while those playing the parts of the monkeys upset articles in the house, pilfered food, and [illegible] general clever characteristic of monkey behavior. The men then repaired to the men's house where they pretended to shoot the monkeys with bows and arrows. During this time the women sang songs about the peccary, and then, upon a signal from the leader of the ceremony, they rushed upon the men, who attempted to escape, and dragged those they captured to the fire "to singe the hair from their hides" as they would do with a slain peccary.

The next of the animal imitations was that of the tapir, which was the special function of a men's association known as the *Bisái*, or Mothers of the Tapir. The male participants painted each other elaborately with urucú and genipa paint, and the next day at dawn all the men retired to the forest where they built a temporary shelter. During the day the members of the *Bisái* pursued men of the opposite moiety, and those caught were then made members of the group. This practice served as a recruiting device, but it also reflected the Mundurucú pattern of intermoiety ritual antagonism, for membership was looked upon with some fear. The *Bisái* were especially subject to soul loss during the *Arwierwi* and the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Dajesrupurip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Bisáŋ* little sleep during ceremonies.

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Bisáŋ*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reentered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Bisáŋ* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land-tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the tinamou were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important [illegible] or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head.

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piwabikwakupawyn*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[1] received

[1] See page 57.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete [illegible] of production, the bonds of economic cooperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate environment. 22 [439]

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and cooperation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist between the residents of each community, and all feel themselves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution. 619 621

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunting and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajacu*), several species of deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca* Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy 224

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

● 224 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [492] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually [illegible] deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved.

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for [illegible] and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life.

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Munduruců have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

591 Although the Munduruců extended family is much
592 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the [422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to [224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kill a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the village. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[82] [776] [736] women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days, nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 380. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion. [224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as [326] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." * The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the [369] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

* Durkheim, 1947.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Caburá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476
226
[224]

Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [199] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241
476
[462]

Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415
252
122
[343]

Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually